1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, which contains what is probably the first "description of the Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*mani?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and intensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

[3] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74–122.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

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This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional practices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

[177]

[7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *loñko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allotted titles to numerous Antipans and Huenchuals without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cantinche was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 276 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 111 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd bits for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.[8]

The practice of granting titles in severalty also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate tribesmen or to

[8] From time to time natives complain that, in addition to legitimate purchases, some unscrupulous landlords make a practice of moving their fences across legal boundaries in order to encompass Indian land.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown sons will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mediador*, on a profit-sharing basis, while his children operate his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Frontispiece).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed women, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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509 621 minutes distant from Temuco, and soon the Indians scarcely looked up when they heard a plane in the sky.[1]

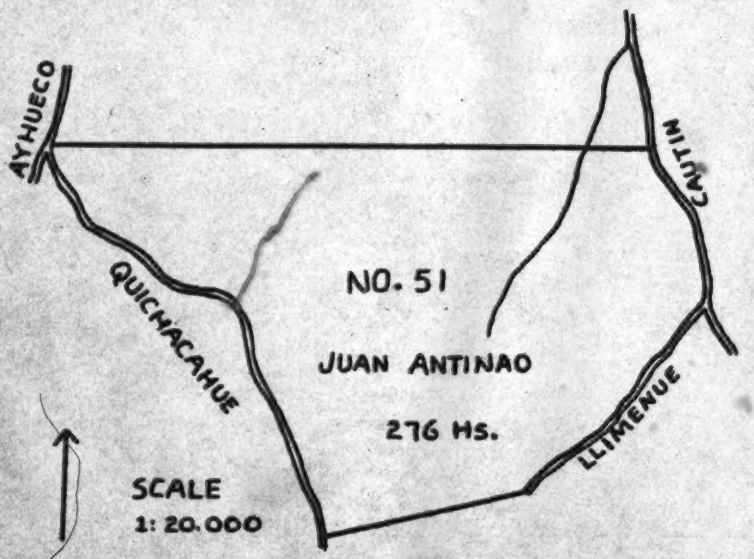

FIG. 5. *Título de Merced* for Cautinche, 1893. Based on an original map in the possession of Juan Antinao. Stream names have been added for purposes of identification of boundaries. The original failed to mark off precise limits.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CAUTINCHE

175 621 Until a century or so ago, the district now called Cautinche had no human occupants. At some time just before 1850 a Carrarriñe man named Antío Paineo built a house near the

[1] The Reverend Mr. Crawford, a Methodist missionary in Nueva Imperial, flies his own small plane to many reservations in the vicinity. When Raúl González and I were scheduled to leave the field on July 27, 1948, the Cholchol River was in flood, and we were faced with the prospect of a long, circuitous horseback ride in the rain. Luckily, a break in the weather gave us a chance to call for a plane. In the space of about an hour a pilot made two round trips, flying us from Cholchol to Temuco one at a time. Our baggage followed by oxcart.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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bickering arose as the community expanded, and accusations of trespass were bandied back and forth. Very likely the situation became worse when Juan Antianao Paineo died and left the Cautinche title to his son, the present Reverend Juan Antinao. At that time Juan was not yet converted to Christianity, and he was much given to drink. Things grew worse

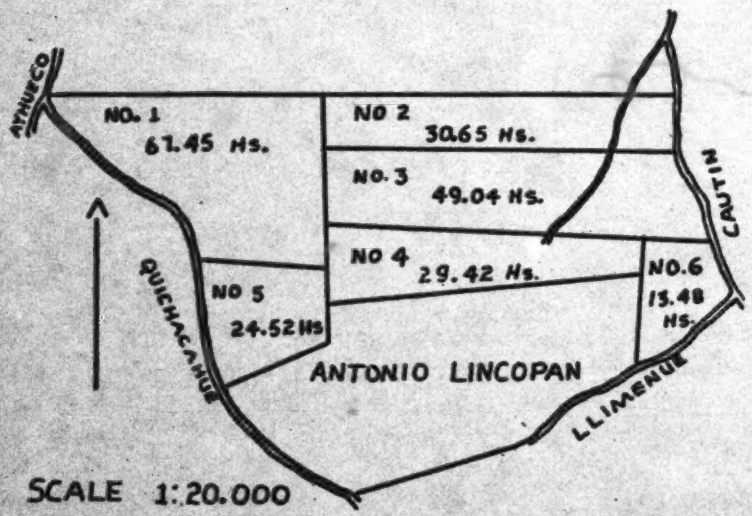

FIG. 6. Cautinche allotments in 1917. From an original drawing owned by Juan Antinao. As in Figure 5, precise boundaries are not established. Antonio Lincopan, who unlike other holders is named but not numbered, received 61.44 hectares.

and worse, and incessant quarreling threatened to disrupt the settlement. At last it was decided to petition the Chilean authorities to subdivide Cautinche and to allot land in severalty to specific owners. The reservation was partitioned on November 12, 1917 (Fig. 6). Juan Antinao received 67.45 hectares and promptly built himself a new home on his own land (house No. 1 on Fig. 4). Thereafter, other householders followed suit until Cautinche took on its current appearance, as shown in Figure 4.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The 593
average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so 556
the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his 423 ●
father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land 554
if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to 593
cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored 554
that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help 593
that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. [736]
One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented [736]
him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent [609]
was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND–WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT–CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER–SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confi- 593
dence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. How- 562
ever, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

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000 ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible.
622 The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly,
627 the ül'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lonko. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has
648 been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by
621 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu
[423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martín; Pelluco, family Imigo; Mehuin, families Huecheman, Mauelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

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but the Government has never paid me anything. I object to this. God gave the earth to all men, and we should not have to pay anyone for the right to own a piece of it. He also made people to defend themselves and their rights. But it is difficult to find out where to go to defend our rights or to find out who is to blame. At present they say the Communists are in power and are to blame; before that they used to say it was the strong trying to defeat the weak."

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE

The Araucanians are an agricultural and grazing people. Ownership of land was institutional. Land owned lay within one's witran mapu—a witran mapu being a specific area occupied by a particular kunpém—that is, a group of families. Within the witran mapu each family laid claim to ownership of pieces of land which it cultivated and to others which it used as grazing land. Portions of land so owned by a family were apportioned by the father to each of his sons, as each one married; these in turn gave of their land to their children; and so on. It is because of this division of land that in time all families in an area were at least distantly related.

All recognized the right of a person to the ownership of lands claimed by him if he erected on it a ruka and also either cultivated the land or used it for grazing his cattle, or, if it was wooded, cleared it of forests. In general, ruka were some distances apart; only occasionally were two or three close together. As previously stated, there were no villages.

The ownership of lands was recorded on charts which were—and still are—kept in the possession of the cacique. It was the cacique's duty to see that there was equity in the distribution of land. In fact, he had the right to transfer to someone in need—if this person was a member of the witran mapu—land from someone who possessed more than it was thought he needed or who laid claim to more than the assembled fathers of families thought he ought to claim. This is no longer a matter of the cacique's jurisdiction, "now that we are under Chilean law."

Land owned by families today is marked off by fences or by natural boundaries, such as creeks, rivers, ravines and forests.

Land in the witran mapu not claimed by any individual was owned in common by the kunpém—a custom which still exists among the Araucanians, but which is causing unrest among politically-minded Chileans who are of the opinion that such lands should be on the

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●423 market for sale. Such land is called kiñe mapu. Anyone wishing to do so today, as formerly, will clear a portion of the common land, cultivate it or graze his animals upon it, and thereby claim it, as already stated. A non-Araucanian Alepúe herbalist had heard children say, "My father cleared that piece and that piece and that piece [pointing at cleared areas on mountain sides], and that is why we own all that land." Clearing was, and is, done by burning (pl. 1, *1*).

No one appropriates exclusive rights, however, to lands on which the araucaria grows—a pine, the nuts of which are a traditional staple food (cf. p. 205). The same holds true for banks of rivers from which fishing is done, for the shores of the Pacific where seafoods are gathered, and for coves on the Pacific coast where fishing boats are landed and docked.

A Coñaripe man explained the acquisition of communal lands by individuals thus: "Much land in Coñaripe area, which includes also the land in the area known as Lliuco, has not been assigned; it is all still owned in common. We still have about 5,000 hectares [12,000 acres, approximately] of such land up in the mountains. The Chileans call land owned in common, comuna; the Mapuche call it kiñe mapu. Fathers of families do not know how much of it should belong to each of them. Anybody from this area has the right to clear a piece of land on which clearing has not already been begun. By that I mean my neighbor, for instance, would not begin to clear or claim land near a place where I had begun a clearing, nor would I clear a piece of land near his. This is done so that people can eventually add land to that which is near their homes. Once the land is cleared and cultivated everyone knows to whom it belongs, and its ownership is marked off on the cacique's chart. Everybody always cultivates the same land, but not every piece of that land each year; he lets one piece after another lie fallow for a year. Before I married, I lived on the other side of the river with my brother, and I cleared a piece of land there, and I own that land now. The father of the woman I married had given her a piece of his land—land that he had been cultivating. When we married, we built our ruka on that land, for my land could only be reached by crossing the river. My wife owns her land by right of radicación [an expression used by Chileans, meaning rights associated with birthplace, habitat, or ancestral rights of ownership] and I own mine across the river by the same right and in addition to that by the right of clearing it [the former a Chilean right, the latter, an Araucanian one]. Radicación was recently applied to Araucanians; it gives a woman the right to own land. It was introduced when I was about as old as he [5 years old, approximately, in 1901]. Formerly, only sons

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inherited land; in those days when a man married, he and his wife lived with the man's parents until he had selected for himself a piece of land from that which his father offered him or he had cleared a piece for himself, at least partially, and thereby laid claim to it." Today, according to Chilean law, both sons and daughters inherit land. According to Chilean law, also, the ownership of land must be recorded with Chilean officials. "Ours is not so recorded, neither mine nor my wife's," said the above Coñaripe informant. "But we are entitled to land in this area, as I said, and no one can take this right from us—we were born here. All Mapuche entitiled to land in this area were recorded with the old cacique, but not with the Chilean authorities. Since the cacique's death, his son has the list." With a firm voice and determined conviction he added: "No stranger can come in here, neither Mapuche nor Chilean, and own land. A stranger can only cultivate land on shares, that is, the Mapuche who owns a piece of land can let the stranger plant it for the price of half the harvest, or for at least a share of the harvest. Four years ago a Mapuche family came in here from Calafquén and cultivated land in this way." 423

In Coñaripe area then (1947), because ownership of land is not recorded with the Chilean Government, owners of land had no Chilean deed to their land; in Alepúe area, most men do have a deed. A 39-year-old Alepúe man told the manner of obtaining land in his area and getting a deed to it. "If a Mapuche wishes to claim a piece of land," he said, "he builds a ruka on it, clears some land around it and uses it for fields and gardens. By the time he gets this done, he has decided how many hectares he wants. He draws a plan showing the location of the land and takes it to the Oficina de Tierra de Colonoción in Valdivia. This office will send a civil engineer to locate the land and to make certain that it belongs to no one else. The Mapuche is then given a deed to the land. There has been no difficulty with the Chilean Government, up to now, about this." He went on, then, to tell of the restrictions on clearing the land: "The greatest difficulty at present is to get the land cleared. Without permission from the Oficina de Forestal in Valdivia, no one is allowed to burn down forests—our way of clearing the land. Three years ago fires got out of control because of the puelche [strong east wind] that came up unexpectedly and spread over large tracts. Families were surrounded by fire and could not be reached. The night was as light as daytime. Harvests and pastures and cattle were burnt. In several places underground fires continued to spread and burnt the roots of grass causing a dire scarcity of grass the following winter. One Mapuche was herding 241 423 73

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a hundred cattle for a Chilean from San José de Mariquina; 50 of these died of starvation that winter. Since then we have to get permission from the Chilean office to burn down trees."

Although the Araucanians are following the traditional pattern of land ownership, they are worried and confused over laws that have been formulated by Chilean legislators in recent years (or are now in the process of being formulated) regarding Araucanian land tenure. Said one: "No one seems to know exactly what it means, or what the outcome will be."

According to a summary by Lipschütz (1948) on legislation as of 1947, dealing with Araucanian ownership of land in Chile, the landed property of the Araucanian Indians in Chile is subject to a 1931 law by which all the former Indian laws (1853 to 1927) are abrogated. This law regulates the division of lands owned collectively by Indian communities (probably those owned by a kunpém), and requires that the division of land so owned be accomplished when one-third of the owners request it. The impact of cultural conflicts can be surmised, and is discernible in the following quotation of the summary:

> In 1942 a project for a new law was elaborated by a special parliamentary commission. The latter pleaded even more strongly for a "liquidation" [literally] (Art. 15) of the communities and for replacing collective ownership by small private holdings. The proprietors of these shall be re-united into Indian Cooperative Associations (Art. 63) into which non-Indian proprietors of former Indian holdings might be admitted (Art. 65). This project caused, according to official statements, considerable unrest among the Indians. A new Commission was created by the Government to include also representatives of the Indians themselves. The Commission reverted from the concept of "liquidation" to the former concept of "division" when requested by one-third of the members (Art. 13), but pleaded for the right of even one member of a community to separate and to become a private owner of his share in the communal land (Art. 20). The concept of Cooperative Associations was dropped but special facilities as to loans when sought for (Art. 67) and so also educational facilities [can be enjoyed] (Art. 68).
>
> Though the existing law and all the projects for a new law of Indian landed property agree that division or abolition of the ancestral community based on collective ownership is desirable, all recognize tacitly or expressly that this is not the solution to the native problem. They are unanimous that the Indian small private holder has to be protected against the easy loss of his holding; and that consequently the Indian has to be deprived of the right to sell or mortgage the holdings, though his private property. The concept that the private holdings resulting from the "division" or "liquidation" of the Community should be reunited into Cooperative Associations, also was sought for as a protective measure. The latest project of the Government, which is of July 1947, proposes the creation of a kind of "Indian Office" (Corporación de Asuntos Indígenas) with the special task of organizing Indian agriculture irrespectively private holders, communities, or cooperative associations (Art. 1).

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The author of the above summary comes to the conclusion that the legal problem to be dealt with should be one of "reforming" the ancestral communities based on collective ownership rather than their "division" or "liquidation"; that the solution to the question of private initiative in Indian agriculture should be found without damage to the perpetuity of the ancestral community; that this could possibly be achieved by admitting the coexistence of a share in collective ownership and of a small private holding by the same person; that coordination of the fundamental law of an Indian Office with that regulating the activities of the community is desirable. (Lipschütz, 1948, pp. 321-326.)

Because of the Chilean law regarding inheritance of land, care is now taken, when an Araucanian child's name is recorded in public or permanent records, that the names of parents, too, are recorded. Often, too, today parents insist that records show the father's given name as the child's surname—the father having no surname to give to the child (cf. pp. 40-41). Where no written information is available regarding the child's lineage, as was formerly the case, signatures of persons who know the parentage of a child (now an adult) must be obtained for legal and other documents. Because of this parents often come to the Mission requesting that their names be inserted near their children's in old baptismal records. A 50-year-old woman asked Father Sigifredo, who had known her family for as many years, to sign a Government document testifying to the death of her husband and to the parentage of her 30-year-old son: "My son needs your signature in order to get the land that rightfully belongs to him and that his father wanted him to have." Also the custom of substituting a child's name with a second name during childhood has practically died out; parents have learned that there is less confusion about inheritance if a person is known by only one name during his lifetime. (Cf. pp. 37-38.)

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Informants older than 50 years of age remembered the days when seeds of wild grass were harvested—a time when every family already raised wheat in natural glades. Seeds collected were those of quinoa, yerba vinagrillo, mango, and lanko kachu. An occasional family cultivated quinoa. All these grasses are now nearly extinct. "Maybe you can find lanko on the pampa still; formerly the pampa was overgrown with it. My father-in-law (older than 100 years) told me last evening that when he was young several families would set out to collect quinoa or lanko kachu. Each family took along several pelts of the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a vast area of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of the lofche, in conference with his ül'men, partitioned a section of the area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognized exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (malál) was erected between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the ül'men; and very poor people—these were the lifta. A rich man might have 4,000-5,000 horses, 500-600 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the ül'men class fell into the lifta class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of the lifta. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals, and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera." A cacique might feel justified in redistributing the land, but he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quarrel ensued between owners because of them.

The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique: "My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques. When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people lived in Ketchuquina; he died there. My grandfather then became cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people to Vega Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchuquina. Then came the great malón (massacre), and he fled to Chile with his lofche. When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina), and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for the celebration of the ñillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

641 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges
648 and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Cívica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

1423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common.
423 When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave
484 orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindicatively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

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Mapuche

From the foregoing account it is clear that the Mapuche and their peasant neighbors approximate one another in the area of agricultural technology and, to some extent, production goals. Technological adjustments have had their effect on economic organization on the reservations but, in themselves, have not brought about basic changes in the economic structure. The new technology is merely permissive of economic change. The fact that the Mapuche and their Chilean neighbors may be said to use some of the same tools for like purposes does not make them socially similar, nor does the fact that the Mapuche are in some respects economically dependent on Chileans. But the reallocation of land under the reservation program is a change of a different order. Land available to the Mapuche is quite limited, whereas it was formerly almost unlimited. Today, the Mapuche are perhaps less concerned with the defense of their ancestral territory than with the preservation of their individual fields. To hold onto their fields and make them provide for family needs, Mapuche farmers have made a number of modifications in their economic activities, one of which has been the adoption of a new technology. Rather than hold that this adjustment is an indication of breakdown or social disintegration, it is possible to say that the accommodation has enabled the Mapuche to maintain their cultural and social integrity during three-quarters of a century since the establishment of the reservation system.

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Mapuche

3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche.

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands.

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements — in effect, different social and economic structures — there was some land on all reservations which the residents

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	*c.* 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	*c.* 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	*c.* 4 ha.
Montero	300	102	*c.* 3 ha.

Pelehue

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	293	54	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	*c.* 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	*c.* 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	*c.* 2 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	*c.* 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	*c.* 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	*c.* 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

farmer is concerned, this amounts to a rotation of fields by reservation. Various arrangements are worked out for the distribution of the harvests or other gain from these distant holdings with the relatives involved. For example, if a man has inherited some land on his mother's natal reservation which is quite distant from his own, say a day's travel, he will not ordinarily use his own animals and plow, or even his own seed, in preparing and planting these fields. His maternal relatives will assist him and will generally obtain half of the harvest for their trouble. But these are atypical arrangements.

Except for reservations situated on the most favorable agricultural lands in the Central Valley, there is generally a good deal of variation in quality of land within any reservation, as well as regional differences between reservations. Land might be classified in three ways: *altura*, the driest and best for wheat cultivation; *baja*, low and moist, not well suited for wheat but good for barley and potatoes; and *vega*, swampy ground of little agricultural value, except for occasional plantings of potatoes in drier years. *Vega* is generally used for pasture. These differences may be found on most reservations but, on balance, they may also serve to differentiate one reservation from another. One reservation, for example Alonqueo, may be largely *altura*, whereas another, say Llancaman or Maripan, may have large sections of *vega*. In the sub-Andean region one encounters much hilly land, dry but too precipitous even for the use of ox-drawn plows, and many low and poorly drained areas which are, however, occasionally planted in potatoes.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region

Most of the 513 hectares of Alonqueo is utilized for cereal crops and *chacareria* (vegetables, both field and garden crops), there being little woodland or marshy wastes. Substandard land is cultivated, nevertheless, and the quality of family holdings varies somewhat. According to the general practice on reservations in the region an attempt is made to allow about two-thirds of the agricultural land to rest after each harvest, provided sufficient crops can be taken from the remaining third or another arrangement can be made to work additional land. During this fallow period fields are customarily grazed by oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and are ranged over by fowl and pigs. They are not planted in grass or soil-restorative plants.

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

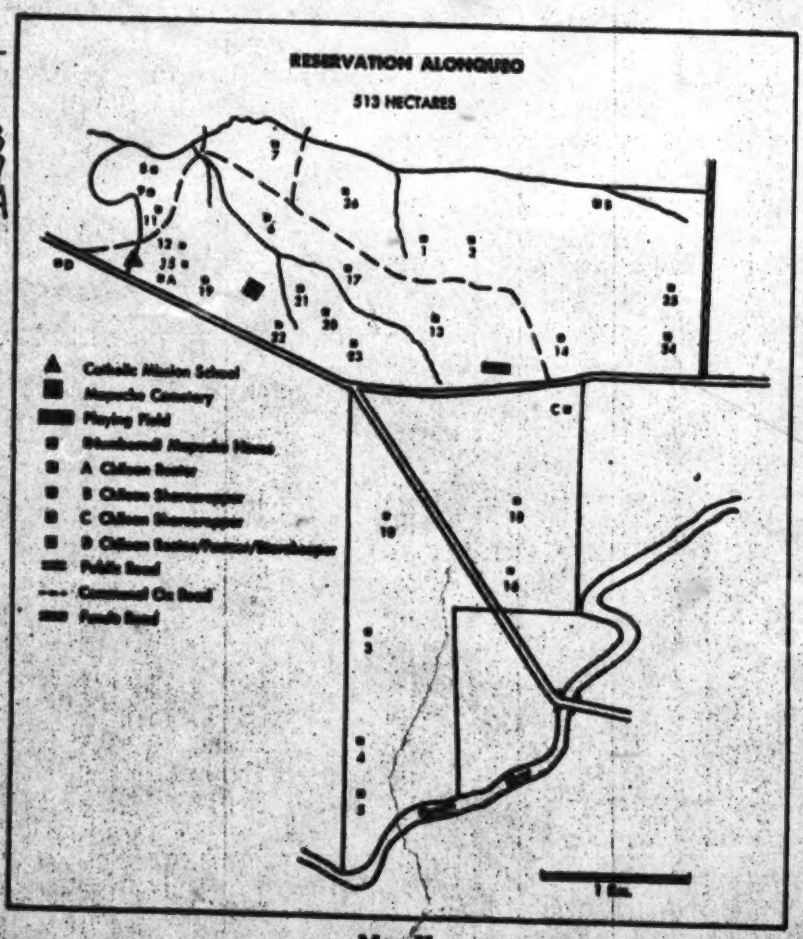
In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades. Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, largely through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes



Map II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1 [i.e. Llancaman -- Analyst]]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly developed on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 100 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

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Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Liumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

*[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

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241 311 [493] In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats [[34] [32]] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing [242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 313 All the land in the Ljumalla region was once heavily wooded. There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a [314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby 132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during [731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 425 [731] [622] [518] A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request for *división*. The reservation had been without an effective chief for several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief. There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing [731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

1 [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country.

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with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

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tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of community-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,308; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,102 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

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evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of land.

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división*) and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the establishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kingroup in the economic sphere.

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob-

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credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land.

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*.

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land.

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized.

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivian apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of

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vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. This has come about because women as well as men were registered during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

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establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property—at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured—that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e. a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

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emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

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land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

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to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

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Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs"—which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725].

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726].

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say:

The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726].

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies.

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the

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colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1800's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal *división*. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucanía. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where *división* took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for *división*. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups.

The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and

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made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities — raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns.

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways.

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1866. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to catch any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations at its own discretion!

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[2] There has consequently been a resistance to división on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a

[2] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, relates that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

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reservation community is needed before application for *división* may be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

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The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Juezes de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*.

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social

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and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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178 622 648 423 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 622 613 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 622 592 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were established on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely [179] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and communal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least 178 622 623 frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evidence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the [648] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

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the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis.

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause.

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance.

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another.

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by

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596 [606] rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime [603] take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her [606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible [607] relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[607] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

[594] Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need 596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the 613 retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, [613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

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584 836 848 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so immediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 583 836 848 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already betrothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forthcoming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A marriage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

583 great. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [423] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *tukulthungung*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *ñillanthungung*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional matrilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal rela- [584] tives through former marriages.

583 584 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are feted by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment—a matter of a few pesos—on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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assistance was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719–20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.)

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1936) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1936:242–70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's paramour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage.

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Konas*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings – and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land.

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families,

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however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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177 persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement
182 with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by
114 not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-
105 range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with
[423] breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciónes*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to *obliteration* of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

SG8 We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the
413 Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their
105 land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights

CO 10,748

[1] Cautínche in 1917 and Carrerías in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:69, 73).

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Mapuche

[p. 234]

Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

Most of the 513 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacareria*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by household (as numbered on *Map II* and *Diagram I*), the number of adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

Reservation Llancaman has 293 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[See CAT. 116, pp. 32 and 93 respectively --Analyst]

[Reservation Alonqueo]

CHART 1

[Sic] A	HOMESTEADS: Adults	Minors	Absent males	TOTAL LAND: Totals	Hectares	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED: Sheep	Cattle	Horses	HECTARES Shared/Rented: Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	ANIMALS Shared/Rented: Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	1	0	6M [a]	0	6M	0	x	x
2)	12	7	(2)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x	
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
4)	2	2	(3)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
5)	2	1	(3)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
6)	1	0	(5)	1	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x
7)	3	2	(3)	5	25	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0		
8)	2	0	(2)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9)	3	1	(2)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x	
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	30	6	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11)	4	2	(2)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0		
12)	2	0	(3)	2	10	15	3	1	10C [b]	0	0	0	0		x
13)	3	2	(3)	5	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x
14)	3	4	(3)	7	46	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x
15)	2	0	(3)	2	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
16)	2	4	(3)	7	30	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
17)	3	2	(3)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x
18)	2	0	(3)	2	20	80	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x	
19)	1	4	(3)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x
20)	2	2	(3)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
21)	3	2	(3)	7	15	6	2	0	8C	0	4	0	4		x
22)	2	0	(3)	2	7	7	2	2	?	?	?	?	?		
23)	1	1	(3)	2	6	80	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
24)	2	2	(3)	4	6	0	2	0	8C	0	0	0	0		x
25)	2	2	(3)	4	6	0	0	0	8C	0	0	0	0		x
	7	4	(3)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x	
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x
	Totals														
	80	55	(75)	133	513	685	100	35	115	14	27	86	34		

[a] M = with Mapuches.
[b] C = with Chileans.

[Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on MAP II (see Cat. IIC, P. 32)--Analyst]

162
592
423
422
231
925
48

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

31) that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[133]

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	HECTARES Shared/ Rented: Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	ANIMALS Shared/ Rented: Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	3	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	X	X
3	7	3	10	7	6	4	0	2C	5M	0	0	6M	X	
1	4	3	5	10	10	6	0	5M	0	0	0	0	X	X
0	1	3	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	X	X
1	1	3	3	10	25	11	0	5M	0	0	0	0	X	
3	4	3	7	0	15	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	X	
0	1	3	3	10	7	7	1	0	0	0	7	7		?
3	1	3	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	X	
3	3	3	6	11	30	3	2	3C	2M	3C	0	0	X	
0	1	3	3	14	30	13	2	5M	0	3C	0	0	X	X
0	1	3	3	3	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	2C	X	X
2	0	3	2	20	20	0	0	2C	0	0	0	0		X
0	1	3	3	8	0	0	1	3C	0	0	0	10C		X
0	0	3	3	8	0	0	1	3C	0	0	0	8C		X
2	1	3	3	11	0	0	1	3C	0	0	0	6M		X
1	1	3	2	8	0	0	0	3C	0	0	0	2M		X
Absent		3	0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	X	
Absent		3	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	3C	0	0		X
Absent		3	0	3	0	0	0	2M	0	3C	0	0	X	X
Totals														
28	36	(79)	80	282	254	88	27	80	11	17		31		

APPENDIX B #37

CHART 3 [Reservation Huilcan]

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External	
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x	162
5	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			592
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	10C			423
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x	422
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x	427
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x	231
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x	648
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x	
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x	
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	16C		x	
2	3	(3)	5	6	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x	
1	0	(4)	1	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x	
3	0	(4)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x	
Totals															
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	5	5	29	3	9	0	100			

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

While the Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves, the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land, building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale projects. *Mingaco* is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, *ñillatun*. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances *mingaco* are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents *mingaco* or *vuelta mano*, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and fiesta.

The Concept of Ownership

Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest kingroup in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study.

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect.

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división*, that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential kingroup opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land; they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the rhetorical questions raised by the priests (*ñillatufe*) at the *ñillatun* ceremonies and are among those subjects especially bemoaned during funeral rites. For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

Nor is the problem of *división* as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petition for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reenergized or reoriented Mapuche morality.

Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation.

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not customarily (i.e. enter another union in which brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on their husbands's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional bridepriice is paid for rights over the woman.

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually

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spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

The Composition of the Residential Kingroup. In essence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for interreservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fruition of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's.

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place.

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use.

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or

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583 is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
423 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
613 economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
602 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
583 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is
571 attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, if it is felt that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
431 bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agemates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

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000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
254 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.
621

Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
692 satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of sublinea-
578 ages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for discension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to harbor integrated rather than localized cores of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and dramatic personae of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

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of supply for bringing up implements and importing produce, supposing the first difficulties overcome. A railroad or tramway might I am sure be constructed at little cost to run down the whole valley of the river, or steam launches of good power, fitted to burn wood, would furnish an effectual means of communication. The present Government steamer Choelechel both draws too much water and is of too small power to render material assistance in the way of opening up the river. The Capitano Major Ramirez pointed out these defects to his Government previous to her being brought to the Rio Negro, but his opinion was overruled.

Foyel and a cacique named Linares, who claims territorial rights over the island, had a scheme for cultivating Choelechel and other advantageous spots, importing for the purpose Valdivian settlers used to the labour from the other side of the Cordillera, and obtaining their supplies and implements from Carmen.

The present further limit of settlement in the valley is the advanced military post called *La Guardia Vieja*, situated about seven leagues above the second Guardia, and about twenty-five leagues from Carmen. It has not, I believe, been in existence many years, and was two years ago the scene of an *émeute* amongst the garrison, which was graphically described to me at our weekly*fête* in Las Manzanas by Ramon Pinto, who had evidently assisted, if not as an actor, at least as a spectator at the scene. The troops, who were mostly foreigners, according to his account, suddenly rose, shot or stabbed the officer in command, and then their lieutenant, who was killed whilst endeavouring to escape by swimming the river. The mutineers then sacked the place, getting of course intoxicated on the contents of the grog-shops, and remained in possession for a day or two, when a party headed by a man named Bustillos, a Government agent for treating with the Indians, rode in and took the ringleaders, who were, I believe, summarily shot. I tell the